

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 293037 TOSEC 310432

NODIS
CHEROKEE

FOL REPEAT PRETORIA 5531 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 1 DEC.

QUOTE

S E C R E T PRETORIA 5531V

NODIS - CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIAN VIEWS ON GENEVA CONFERENCE

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME NOVEMBER 30 AND BROUGHT
ALONG SECURITY CHIEF KEN FLOWERS WHO PASSING THROUGH
PRETORIA. BURDEN OF HAWKINS MESSAGE WAS THAT BRITISH
WERE NOT BEING TOUGH ENOUGH WITH BLACK OTTELEGATIONS
IN
MAKING THEM ADHERE TO FRAMEWORK OF 5 POINTS. HE URGED
USG TO STIFFEN BRITISH RESOLVE. HE ALSO PROMISED TO
SEND ME COPY OF INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY PREPARED IN GENEVA
WHICH IS REPRODUCED AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE.

2. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT SECURITY PICTURE,
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FLOWERS SAID THE GUERRILLA WARFARE WAS NOT GOING

UNFAVORABLE FOR RHODESIA. SOME 250 GUERRILLAS HAD BEEN KILLED DURING NOVEMBER. CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF PRISONERS ALSO TAKEN. SUCCESS WAS DUE IN GREAT PART TO FACT THAT GUERRILLAS WERE COMING OVER IN MUCH LARGER GROUPS THAN BEFORE. WHILE THEIR ARMS ARE GOOD, THEIR TRAINING IS VERY POOR. SIZE OF GROUPS MAKES IT EASIER TO LOCATE AND FOLLOW THE BANDS. AS LONG AS GUERRILLAS USE THESE TACTICS, RHODESIAN FORCES HAVE THE ADVANTAGE. HE NOTED THAT IN PAST WEEK OR SO THE RATE OF EXFILTRATION HAS EXCEEDED INFILTRATION. HE IS WORRIED THAT GUERRILLAS WILL SWITCH TACTICS AND GO BACK TO SMALL GROUPS OF 5 OR 6 TROOPERS WHO ENGAGE IN HIT AND RUN ACTIONS. FLOWERS SAID RHODESIANS AWARE OF ARMS BUILD-UP IN BACK AREAS. THESE ARE GENERALLY FURTHER INSIDE MOZAMBIQUE THAN BASES NEUTRALIZED IN "HOT PURSUIT" ACTION A MONTH AGO. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE SAID THAT WHILE RHODESIA HAD CAPACITY TO GO AFTER THOSE BASES, HE WOULD COUNSEL AGAINST IT. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE NOTED THAT DURING THE "HOT PURSUIT" RAIDS RHODESIANS HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING EITHER GUERRILLAS OR FRELIMO TROOPS, ALL OF WHICH TOOK TO THE WOODS AS RHODESIAN COLUMNS ADVANCED. HE THOUGHT MACHEL FACED SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH INCOMPETENCE OF FRELIMO TROOPS.

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY FORWARDED DECEMBER 1. IT IS DATED NOVEMBER 30.

QUOTE A COPY OF THE AMENDED BRITISH PROPOSAL DATED 27TH NOVEMBER WAS DELIVERED TO THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION AT THEIR HOTEL BY A MESSENGER ON 28TH NOVEMBER. AT NO TIME WAS THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION CONSULTED ABOUT IT. THIS ISSUE WAS TO BE RAISED WITH THE CHAIRMAN ON MONDAY 29TH NOVEMBER. ON 28TH NOVEMBER MUZOREWA COMPLAINED IN A STATEMENT TO THE CONFERENCE ABOUT THE PROTRACTED DEADLOCK OVER A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. HE REITERATED EARLIER CRITICISMS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT FOR ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF RHODESIAN AFRICANS. HE URGED THE CONFERENCE TO EMBARK IMMEDIATELY UPON THE MECHANISMS OF TRANSFERRING POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY IN ZIMBABWE.

ON 28TH NOVEMBER A LETTER WAS RECEIVED FROM THE CHAIRMAN
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APOLOGISING FOR THE OMISSION OF A FINAL SENTENCE IN THE PROPOSAL WHICH WAS ALTERED AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE MISSING SENTENCE READ: "BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE AND AFTER AGREEING ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE CONFERENCE WILL REVERT TO THE QUESTION OF FIXING A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE SO THAT A FIRM DATE CAN BE AGREED UPON." THIS SENTENCE SEEMED TO US TO RE-ESTABLISH THE FACT THAT A FIRM DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE CANNOT FIXED UNLESS

AND UNTIL PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN AGREED. THE CHAIRMAN WROTE TO THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION AGAIN ON 28TH NOVEMBER AS FOLLOWS: "UNFORTUNATELY THERE WAS A TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR IN THE LETTER WHICH I SENT TO YOU YESTERDAY. THE FINAL SENTENCE WAS INADVERTENTLY OMITTED FROM THE TEXT WHICH I HAD WORKED OUT IN LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. I NOW ENCLOSE A FURTHER COPY OF MY LETTER GIVING THE FULL TEXT". THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE STATEMENT REGARDING A FIXED DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE READS AS BEFORE.

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN NEW IDEAS OR INITIATIVES FROM HIS GOVERNMENT TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK WHEN HE VISITED LONDON AT THE BEGINNING OF LAST WEEK. HE WAS IN SOME DESPAIR OVER THIS.

THOUGH THERE IS BELIEVED TO BE FRICTION BETWEEN THE SUPPORTERS OF SITHOLE AND MUGABE IN THE TERRORIST CAMPS IN TANZANIA AND MOCAMBIQUE, A TANZANIAN SOURCE SAYS THAT THE RHODESIAN TERRORISTS IN HIS COUNTRY HAVE SPLIT INTO FIVE GROUPS ALTOGETHER -

- A. SUPPORTERS OF MUGABE (SAID TO BE THE SMALLEST GROUP;
- B. SUPPORTERS OF HAMADZARIPI AND TONGOGARA;
- C. SUPPORTERS OF SITHOLE;
- D. REMNANTS OF THE THIRD FORCE, AND
- E. SUPPOOZERS OF THE ANC.

THE PRESENCE OF SITHOLE IN TANZANIA WHEN THIS OCCURRED IS CONSIDERED TO BE SIGNIFICANT.

SUPPORTERS OF NKOMO ADVISED HIM FROM SALISBURY THAT THERE WAS CONFUSION WITHIN RHODESIA OVER THE STAND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS TAKING WITH REGARD TO THE INDEPENDENCE DATE. THEY CRITICISED THE LACK OF PROGRESS AT THE CONFERENCE THE BRITISH ARE STILL STATING THAT THEIR TACTIC WAS TO BRING
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AFRICAN DELEGATIONS TO A CERTAIN POINT OF JOINT AGREEMENT AND THEN BRING THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION INTO THE PICTURE. THEY AGREED THEY WERE MAKING CONCESSIONS. THE BRITISH FEEL THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALLIANCE COULD BREAK ON THE QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENCE DATE AS THEIR LATEST PAPER HAD CREATED CONSIDERABLE DISSENSION WITHIN IT. THE STATEMENT THAT THE MUGABE DELEGATION SAID IT HAD NO MANDATE TO DISCUSS AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, DESPITE MUGABE'S ASSERTION ON ARRIVING IN GENEVA THAT HE HAD A FULL MANDATE, SUPPORTS OUR CONTENTION THAT HIS ACTUAL FOLLOWING IS NEGLIGIBLE AND THAT HE MIGHT HAVE TO LEAVE GENEVA FOR MAPUTO OR DAR ES SALAAM TO SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. SITHOLE HAS BEEN SITTING IN THE WINGS WAITING TO EXPLOIT ANY SITUATION THAT MIGHT PRESENT ITSELF, AND IT WOULD APPEAR THAT HE COULD BE SEEKING NOW TO TAKE OVER MUGABE'S POSITION AT THE CONFERENCE. ANY POSSIBLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN SITHOLE AND

MUZOREWA TO THE EXCLUSION OF NKOMO MUST OBVIOUSLY BE AVOIDED BECAUSE A STRONG SITHOLE CLAIMING MAJOR SUPPORT FROM THE TERRORISTS COULD BE TOO OVERPOWERING A PARTNER FOR MUZOREWA, WHOSE INDECISIVENESS WOULD PLAY RIGHT INTO HIS HANDS.

THE BRITISH CONTINUE TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE UNCONCERNED WITH THE FUTURE OF THE WHITE RHODESIAN AND THEY FAIL TO APPRECIATE THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE SITUATION. WE FEAR THAT THEIR PRINCIPAL CONCERN IS TO TERMINATE THE RHODESIAN ISSUE TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. THEY SEEM TO BE PREPARED TO IGNORE LARGELY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE KISSINGER PLAN IN THE INTERESTS OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

ON 25TH NOVEMBER, BRITISH OFFICIALS OUTLINED IDEAS WHICH THEIR DELEGATION HAD BEEN CONVEYING TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. THEY HAD EXPLAINED THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE TO REMAIN IN BEING FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF DAY TO DAY OPERATIONS DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. THEY HAD EXPLAINED THE NEED FOR A SEPARATE COUNCIL OF STATE TO DEAL WITH LEGISLATION, THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE SMOOTH TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. THIS BODY SHOULD NOT BE SUBMERGED IN LESS IMPORTANT MATTERS. LEADERS OF THE MAIN PARTIES SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; THEY SHOULD BE ACTIVE IN THE UPPER BODY AND THINKING ABOUT PROGRESS TO INDEPENDENCE. MEMBERSHIP OF THE UPPER BODY WOULD BE DECIDED IN GENEVA. MEMBERSHIP OF
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THE LOWER BODY HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED, BUT ITS FUNCTION WOULD CONSIST OF THE DAY TO DAY ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY. LOWER BODY MEMBERS WOULD BE MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR INDIVIDUAL PORTFOLIOS. THE BRITISH BELIEVED THAT TO PLACE PRECISE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN ANNEX "C" BEFORE THE AFRICANS WOULD WRECK THE CONFERENCE. THEIR INTENTION WAS TO TRY TO OBTAIN A FORM OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT RESEMBLING THAT OUTLINED IN ANNEX "C" AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE. THEY BELIEVE THE BEST CHANCE OF ATTAINING THIS OBJECTIVE WOULD BE TO WORK UP GRADUALLY TO A FULL EXPLANATION OF THE PROPOSALS, RATHER THAN REVEAL ALL DETAILS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

WE WARNED AGAINST THIS SORT OF APPROACH WHICH WOULD WHET APPETITE OF AFRICANS FOR MORE AND MORE CONCESSIONS. WE REMINDED THE BRITISH THAT THE RHODESIAN PLAN IS BASED FIRMLY ON THE FIVE PRINCIPLES. THE BRITISH INDICATED THEIR APPRECIATION OF THIS.

IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT MR. SMITH COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE NUMEROUS JOURNEYS BETWEEN SALISBURY AND GENEVA TO DISCUSS INDIVIDUAL POINTS. THEY AGREED, BUT MADE NO SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW THIS KIND OF DIFFICULTY COULD BE OVERCOME. WE WERE TOLD

THAT A MEMBER OF THE SITHOLE DELEGATION HAD INFORMED THE
BRITISH AUTHORITIES THAT IF THEY COULD SELL PROPOSALS TO THEM
WHICH LOOKED LIKE THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS, BUT WERE ACCEPTABLE,
THEY COULD GO ALONG WITH THEM. BRITISH OFFICIALS ADDED THAT
AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, THE BRITISH HAD DECIDED THIS WAS
THE ONLY WAY TO SELL ANNEX "C". UNQUOTE.
BOWDLER

UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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